1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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304 tattooing at the eyes, like the Pima, nor did the men bear it on the chin, like the Mohave. Body and legs seem not to have borne this decoration. Male decoration consisted only of a series of vertical lines covering the whole forehead or a zigzag line. Women had two straight narrow lines drawn downward on the chin from each corner of the mouth. Occasionally the narrow spaces between each pair of lines was solidly filled just at the corner of the mouth. Many of the older women of the Maricopa community today bear this decoration. The lines are invariably narrow, nearly vertical, and about a half inch apart. The outer lines are not quite at the corners of the mouth. The dye spreads along the lower margin of the lips. My informant knew that Mohave women and others in the vicinity had the chin area filled in, but stated that Halchidhoma women never had this. Sometimes women bore above the elbow of one arm a double line drawn like an S.

[881] The tattooing was done only at puberty: to a girl at first menstruation,[22] to a boy when his voice began to change. Any expert woman did it for either. She was not paid, nor need she be a relative nor of any particular age. The process, which took a few hours, was without ritual. Yet those who were not tattooed [775] would not be able to enter the land of the dead.

Cactus thorns were held in a row between the fingers, eight or nine together. When blood flowed from the punctures, a black [886] mineral from the mountains was rubbed in, the spot washed off, and puncturing begun again. It was said that when arm or forehead was tattooed, there was no soreness, but the lip became so sore and swollen that one could not eat. Yet nothing was done to salve the soreness.

Some men had the nasal septum pierced. These were brave men: "this stands for bravery." In war such men were obliged always to go forward. A boy's septum was pierced when his voice [881] began to change. An expert man was chosen; then the septum would not get sore. He made the perforation with a sharpened twig of an unidentified bush and inserted a cotton string to keep 301 the hole open until it healed. The nasal pendant (xamsuwĭ'n)

[22] See p. 326.

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There is just the possibility that macẋipa's and mavĭ's are from the calendric system of some other Yuman tribe confused in this mixed community with Maricopa nomenclature. [805] [221]

Shorter intervals were indicated by counting nights, not days as we would, or by the moon's phase. The time for a dance, e.g., was fixed by saying, "You sleep four (or whatever) nights and on the fourth day come." Or they would say, "We will have our dance when it is full moon—or when the moon just appears." Neither knotted cords nor notched sticks were used for the purpose. [211]

The intervals of the night were also indicated. The night was supposed to be divided into four parts, significant for dream experiences. The first and last quarter were productive of evil dreams; the second and possibly the third were the favorable quarters. These parts were named n¸aẋa′vŏk, "went down," evening; tinyă′mko′ʀŭm, "night (black)old," middle of the night; ẋacipa′nĭk, "nearing," before dawn; kwăliyo′ŭg, dawn. [805] [828] [192]

CONSTELLATIONS AND NATURAL PHENOMENA

Maricopa star lore was inconsiderable. The major constellations, known also to other Yumans, were recognized, but equally obvious ones, such as Cassiopeia and Gemini, had no names. A few trivial tales were associated with the star clusters, but the esoteric values attached to them in southern California were unknown here. [821] [171] [538]

For four, possibly five, of the six stars mentioned below, the significant position was dawn rising, not as is our customary mode of reference, evening ascension. Four of them were observed in autumn or winter.

The general cosmogonic notion was that there was a duplicate of this world above the sky. This was not the land of the dead, which lay in the west. It functioned in the myths and provided an explanation for the movement of the sun, but otherwise had no particular bearing on affairs of our world. [772] [775] [773] [821]

It is said that far above the sky is a place exactly like this world. There are people there doing the same things as here, and all the stars we see here are du-

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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554 with war." He acquires bravery and ability to kill. Again, cer-
776 tain small flies (kumanyihwi') and a thorny cactus ('ɨu'l) figured
787 as spirits in the preparation of a warrior. "Those who dream of
[821] Orion's Belt got power to bewitch at a distance. This was cured by one who dreamed of crickets." It is not clear that this constellation was a spirit. The three stars of the Belt were believed a mountain sheep, a deer, and an antelope, any one of which might have been the spirit involved.

776 The reason for some of these associations of spirits and powers
787 is patent as founded on natural characteristics of the birds.
811 Thus, the mocking bird as speaker, the crow as thief, blackbird
825 and killdeer as singers. Similarly, the association of the frog with rain is obvious and so possibly clairvoyance (locating the enemy from the sky) with the buzzard's soaring habit.

Other associations depend for comprehension on certain be-
[753] liefs. Rabbit flesh was believed to cause sickness and its hairs blindness: these were cured by the spirit rabbits on the homeopathic principle. On a similar principle the curing of soul loss by Horned Owl, that is, where the cause was dreaming of dead rel-
• [775] atives, seems connected with the belief that a human heart, on cremation, becomes a horned owl and that this owl seen flitting near a dwelling presages death. Certain other associations are
[773] founded on beliefs incorporated in the Creation tale (*q.v.*): Coyote, having suffered every kind of sickness, can cure all, and Frog, the first witch of all time, having slain her father, the culture hero, by witchcraft, now gives the power to bewitch.

776 The mountains as spirits differed from those of birds and ani-
787 mals in that they had no powers to grant. But that they figured
823 as spirits is certified by the way they appear in the clairvoyant act by which the whereabouts of the enemy was discovered. Then the mountain spirits were thought to enter the séance and respond to questions concerning the enemy (see below). The same spiritual quality is implied by the slayer of an enemy turning away from the mountains of the enemy country to avoid their maleficence. Four nearby mountains were thought especially significant for the Maricopa: Pima Butte, Sierra Estrella, Salt River Range, and a butte immediately southwest of the

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
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159 shaman, named ʞatoi', the best of his time. When he arrived, he announced that
755 he cured only at night. That night he cured inside the house; there was no fire.
648 He held his long eagle feathers in his left hand: these were four, bound in pairs to a short wooden handle. In his right hand was his gourd rattle. He sat with these and as he sang, everything was made clear to him. We thought it too dark for him to see, but for him it was broad daylight. I lay crosswise just in front of him. Only my wife was present with us.

As I had such a high fever, the shaman fanned me with his feathers to wave it away. When he had reduced the fever, he could see plainly who had bewitched
[754] me. He sang his songs as he fanned. I did not understand clearly, since he sang in Pima, but they were about Coyote. Coyote described the one who had bewitched me, told the shaman. When a spirit thus describes the right one, the patient gets well, but if it is wrong, he dies.

He would bend over me, but not touch my body. He took out what was in me, breathing hard as if swallowing something. Suddenly he jerked away and acted as though he was going to vomit. When he took it out of his mouth, it was a little grain of charcoal. Sometimes it is a little pebble, the size of a wheat grain: it depends on what the seizure is. If a fingernail were thrown into one, the sick man would have cramps [probably paralysis]. When he took this out, he switched his feathers back and forth to knock all the sickness away from me. Finally he told me who had bewitched me and why.

753 Curing for the loss of the soul was obtained as a generalized
774 description. The loss was due to dreaming of the dead; its symp-
787 tom fainting or dizziness. A person dreams he is in the land of the dead. If he eats anything given him there, he gets sick. He might dream repeatedly of this, join in the games there, and because it gave him pleasure, dream of it every night. Such a one would faint; then they always sent for a shaman who knew how to
755 treat it. The shaman's procedure was to search for indications
774 of the route the soul had taken toward the land of the dead, in order to pursue and capture it. He was one who had dreamed of Horned Owl. Significant of the extent of this type of illness and curing was the informant's statement that "this has often happened and they always tell it this way."

When the shaman neared the patient's home, he stopped from time to time trying to discover which way the soul had been taken, that is, whether by air or along the earth. He circled the locality counterclockwise, which "he says is circling the whole
[775] world." The dead were believed to have a path into this world from each of the cardinal directions. But they, the dead, rarely used the east and north roads, which were through the air. South and west roads were along the earth. When the shaman reached

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma
Yuma

826 Nail parings thrown away would make a noise like a kiss, so they did not like to throw them near where they slept.

SOULS AND LIFE AFTER DEATH

774 It is clear that concepts of soul were not involved in the dream experience. An individual possessed a plurality of souls: (1) wipai′, the soul proper, the vital principle; (2) 'ĭcĭnyoi′yĭm, "[something that] does not act good," the whirlwind soul, the ghost; (3) iwa′, the heart; (4) iwaânŏḳ, "small heart," the pulses. "At death the wipai′ goes to the land of the dead; the ghost stays about [in human guise] as the whirlwind; the heart becomes a horned owl, each pulse a screech owl. The heart is always the last part of the body to burn. It is called 'the horned owl,'" Kutox thinks, because it burns as a black lump. The horned owl was sometimes called kwĭpu′i iwa′c, "the dead people's heart." "The ghost is just the shadow of the dead person," according to Last Star. When illness was said to be occasioned by the loss of the soul, it was the wipai′ which was thought to leave the body. At death, the remaining souls left the body: the whirlwind soul perhaps at the instant of death; more certainly the heart and pulses fled the corpse during its cremation.

775 [825] [826]

184 775 The Maricopa believed that the land of the dead lay to the west, in the desert on the lower reaches of the Gila. They called it "the dead people's place" (puĭnyâva′, sing.; hupoi′ĭnyâva′, pl.). Where the Halchidhoma localized their after life while they were still on the Colorado, Kutox had never heard his people mention. As he knew them, living on the Gila with the Maricopa, they said that their own and the Maricopa dead went to the same place in the west. The point is of some interest. The Yumans of the lower Colorado assigned a southerly direction to it, hence this was probably also the original Halchidhoma localization. But the Maricopa have transposed the names of the cardinal points from the normal Yuman order, south becoming west, so that the direction downstream was correctly maintained, and with it, we may presume, the direction in which lay the land of the dead.

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When I [Kutox] was young I did not think people who were cremated would be like humans again. But I think I will be dead soon, and now in my dreams I see them in the form of people. I recognize them and talk with them. I have come to believe that there are such people living on the other side of these mountains. 775 [787]

The road taken by the dead was along a low sand hill westward beyond the barrier of the Gila Bend–Maricopa Mountains. Beyond these was a shade under which sat an aged woman. A little farther on the road forked: those who died in war took the branch to the right (i.e., north or west?), those who died of sickness, that to the left (south). An account of recovering a lost soul which had set out for the land of the dead (p. 286) gave a slightly different picture. According to this, the dead have a path into our world by each of the cardinal directions. But the dead never used those on the north or east, only the south and west roads. The latter roads lead along the ground; the first two through the air. But "the dead hardly ever take a person through the air." These south and west roads "lead to [are?] the forked road" described above.

The aged woman was described by Josepha Juan who saw her in dreams. (Josepha, an Halchidhoma, is herself constantly grieving.) This crone dipped her finger into boiled mesquite bark and marked her cheeks with it. She mourned every day. Her tears washed the marks off, so that she continually repeated her action. The stuff was deposited on her breast by her tears. It was so thick that one could thrust a whole finger into it. Under the shade, she kept watermelons. When a dead person (? a soul) arrived, she said, "Eat some for your hunger and go on."

Participating in the life of the dead was hazardous in the extreme for any living soul. "A person dreams he is in the land of the dead. If he eats anything given him there, he gets sick. A person might dream of this repeatedly, join in the games there, and thinking it fun, dream of it every night. Such a person would faint": his soul would be lost and he would die. [787]

There were many people in the land of the dead. "It has become so crowded that they keep on pushing this way [east], until their village extends even west of these mountains." Here is a

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

775 reflection of the dwindling numbers of Maricopa, fast diminishing under the changed conditions of modern life.

Everything of our world was duplicated in that land, but with its nature reversed. Day and night were interchanged; things bitter here were good food. The dead never stood still; hence the whirlwind with its legs crossed, spinning along on its toes. The dead were constantly at dances and games, so many of them together that there were crowds at the games. They went to war. They were always enjoying themselves, with plenty to eat, "plenty of melons." Even the sole cause of complaint among them reverses real life. When a living person wanted to go somewhere, he had the pleasures of anticipation and fulfillment: he set a day and on that day went off camping enroute for however long it might take him. "But with us," the dead complain, "when we want to go anywhere, we are there before we know. We do not like that."

The aged became young and old things new there. "Old, ragged things burned here go to the land of the dead and are new again." Old people become young again. Kutox said he will again have long thick braids hanging down his back. Even the middle-aged became younger. On the other hand, a baby became a youth of fifteen or so, not a baby. But "the dead have children there" (beget them?). When a man died, he grew old and died again three times in that land. After the fourth death, he became nothing more than a bit of charcoal lying in the desert.

Rebirth and final dissolution as mere charcoal were also described by Last Star, but he thought a series of changes took place other than becoming young again.

> When a person dies he becomes a ghost (Iclnyoi'lm) and lives there [in the land of the dead]. When the ghost dies again, he is entirely different from all other ghosts, so that they do not like to have him around. They make him bathe in a certain river there to be purified, just as here when a man kills an enemy. Then he can mingle with the other ghosts again. I do not know what he turns into when he dies a third time, but it is some kind of creature. When this creature dies, it turns into a bit of charcoal. They say that these are to be found in the desert down the Gila River. [Questioned on the Yuma belief,[39] he said:] Each

[39] Forde describes the Yuma belief that the soul progresses through four different planes, lingering in each, until it finally reaches the land of the dead (*Yuma Ethnography*, p. 179).

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Yuma

time he comes to life he does not go to a new place to live. I never heard that when they come to life they become young again. 775

Even modern features were incorporated in their conception of this land. One woman saw a schoolhouse there: she heard its bell. She went to her mother's home there. They told her her children went to school. When she woke, she found everything so lonesome here. There are some white men there, according to Kutox.[40] 777 775

A woman was reported as having dreamed of being taken to the top of a mountain, but it was nothing but a hill. A half-sister, who had been dead some time, told her that she should go with her. All their relatives were over there and she (the human) would play the dice game. The dead woman wanted her to join the crowd of dead playing that game. She told her everything was nice there, with everybody present except those left behind, those who had been buried not cremated. The dead say they cannot take in those who are buried, because they smell too badly. Those who were buried live on the north side of the land of the dead. They wander all the time carrying boxes (coffins) on their heads, looking for shades to live under. When they tire, they lay them down and sit on them. The dead think this appalling. The woman who told this died a year after her dream. 787 775

There was no belief of the rebirth of ordinary dead in our world, but twins and deformed persons were reborn. They were believed to come from a village of their own, an adjunct of the village of the dead lying to the northwest. Some of the deformed there were without arms, others without noses or mouths; some had an eye in the middle of the forehead. These persons, deformed and twins alike, were born in our world only as visitors. "They say, 'We want to go on a long journey' and they leave there. When others there miss them, they say 'They have gone somewhere to rest under a shade.' These wanderers are born here as deformed babies." This was infrequent "because people do not leave their homes casually." When twins and deformed people died, they returned to their village, not to the land of the dead, until they were reborn. If they were mistreated here they would not stay, but go back where they came from.[41] 775 845

[40] When I was leaving at the end of my field trip, Kutox told me that he would be dead before I returned. But I should probably meet him in the land of the dead, for "you are a good white man." If I found my notes insufficient, he would be glad to help me again there. I was to look for a young handsome man. [123]

[41] An instance of the birth of a tiny, delicate baby believed to be one of these, and their reactions to it, is cited in the section on "Birth," p. 314.

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

CHAPTER X

DEATH CUSTOMS

CREMATION

184 764 Like other Colorado River Yumans, the Halchidhoma and Maricopa cremated their dead and held a mourning ceremony for them. So far as the details of cremation were concerned the two tribes did not differ, but the slight Maricopa mourning rite was incomparable with the ambitious Halchidhoma affair. The latter closely paralleled that of Yuma and Mohave.

764 The dead were without exception cremated. This included those who died while visiting with foreign tribes, warriors killed in the enemy country, and infants. Those who were not cremated could not enter the land of the dead (see p. 299).

[715]

[727] One who died away from home, as in war in the mountains [Yavapai territory], would be cremated right there. They would be quiet about it; gather logs at night, set fire to them, and immediately set out for home. If one died while on a visit to the Mohave, e.g., he was cremated there: if one of their men dies here, we do the same for him. The ashes were not carried home. But the time our people were killed at Yuma, we could not attend to them. They died in a pile in the center of their village. The bones lay scattered about for years. It was the same with all the Yuma who were killed over here.

[115] Cremation persists to this day: it occurred once while I was on the reservation. My aged Halchidhoma informant, Kutox, from whom most of the following description was obtained, was by common consent director of these affairs.

763 When a man had a mortal illness, the shaman in attendance was given four nights in which to cure. On the fourth night, when he knew his efforts were unavailing, he changed his songs. Previously he had referred in them only to things that are white; now he suddenly changed to references to black, and the auditors knew the patient would die. During the first half of the night, he sang persuading the sick man not to go to the other world, reminding him that his property was here. During the second half,

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa
Halchidhoma

a man, his favorite horse decorated with paint (or several of them), was staked near by to be killed as soon as the pyre was lighted. The belief was that he could ride one to the land of the dead, packing the clothing, etc., on the others. 764 [775]

While the pyre was burning, an older man (called aume'va, "fire tender") poked with a long pole, running it under the corpse to let in the air, and pushing the blazing logs over the corpse so that it could not be seen. "For the relatives to see any of the corpse would make them sad." The end post was the last to finish burning. The breast and heart were held to be the last parts consumed.

All this time the relatives were about. Children and elders alike were forbidden to eat or drink. When the body was half cremated and again after it was consumed the speaker delivered an oration. After the pyre had burned to coals, everybody left except the fire tender. This would be early the next morning, e.g, if the cremation had begun early in the night. [262] [537]

When the fire had burned out, four holes were dug close to the heap of ashes, two on the south side, two on the north. Then the fire tender, starting at the west end of the heap, scraped the ashes alternately to the north and south of the center line. He then divided these two piles to the west and east, so as to form four piles. Each was put in its respective hole and covered with dirt. Dirt was also scattered over the whole place. "Then the rain obliterated all signs. It is better that way."

At the funeral of a man who was a singer, the Maricopa (but not the Halchidhoma) had singing and dancing; even the relatives rose to dance. They then returned to cry over the dead. The songs were those the dead man "had liked," i.e., those he had dreamed. The same songs and dance were repeated in their mourning ceremony. 766 533 535

Everything within the dead man's dwelling was destroyed. The objects were thrown into a hole dug beside the house, or sometimes within it. The house was then burned down. This was done because the sickness might have been left in the house, and also, if these articles were left about, the dead, returning, might be seen in dreams and the survivors sicken and die too. They 768 [775] [753]

1:Spier E-5 (1929-1932) 1933 NT15 River Yumans NT15
Maricopa

The sex of the child could be predicted: for a boy the pains followed rapidly and were sharper than for a girl. They say that when a woman had borne only sons or daughters and at last one of the opposite sex was born, it would be her last child. An extension of the idea was cited: when the youngest child of I—— walked at an early age, although her elder children had been slow in learning to walk, they said it would be her last child. 842 [844]

Whether one would have a child at all was forecast by a dream. A man or woman might dream of gathering little birds or puppies, of being fond of them. This was an omen that they would have children. Other dreams were interpreted as signs that they would have no children. 787 842

Twins and deformed infants, unlike ordinary children, were thought to be reborn. They were in this world merely as visitors, hence if they were mistreated they would return to their home. Their village was believed to lie to the northwest beyond the Hassayampa Mountains. Some of its inhabitants were without arms or mouths or noses; some had a single eye in the middle of their foreheads; others were twins. These people would say, "We want to go on a long journey," and would wander into this world to be born. When their fellows missed them, they would say, "They have gone somewhere to rest under a shade." Their advent was infrequent because people do not leave their homes casually. When twins and deformed persons died, they returned to this village, not to the land of the dead, until they were reborn. It was considered lucky for a mother to have twins. 775 845

No physiological reason was assigned for twinning. On the other hand, an albino (hiʊ̃a'hwa't, "red eyes") was thought the result of the pregnant mother having eaten something gnawed by a gopher, such as mesquite beans. Albinos were reported to have a reddish iris and be unable to see well in the sunlight, but to have normally pigmented skin and hair. 826 845

Twins were both reared, although this was difficult. They were more likely to die than other children. When one sickened or died, the other would also. It was thought that when one died, it had not been well treated, had not been taken up when it cried. The sympathetic bond may well have been thought to 845

2:Bartlett G-5 (1850-1853) 1854
NT15 River Yumans NT15

131 of the Jornada and towards the Colorado. Their present position adjoining the Pimos, was chosen for the benefit of mutual protection.

595 This people restrict themselves to a single wife.
776 Their ideas of a Supreme Being, in whose existence they believe, are of so vague a nature that I could not ascertain them with exactness. After death, they
● 775 believe that their souls go to the banks of the Colorado, their ancient dwelling-place, and there take refuge in the great sand hills, where they are metamorphosed into various animals and birds. Their heads, hands, feet, etc., each become owls, bats, wolves, and other animals. They believe, too, that the souls of their enemies, the Yumas, also find a place there; and that the wars which have so long existed between them on earth, will be continued there, after death.

584 When a man desires to marry, and has made choice of a girl for his wife, he first endeavors to win over her parents by making them presents. The fair one's attention is sought by another process. To do this, he
[534] takes his flute, an instrument of cane with four holes, and, seating himself beneath a bush near her dwelling, keeps up a plaintive noise for hours together. This music is continued day after day; and if no notice is at length taken of him by the girl, he may "hang up his flute," as it is tantamount to a rejection. If the proposal is agreeable, the fair one makes it known to the suitor, when the conquest is considered complete. No girl is forced to marry against her will, however eligible her parents may consider the match. Whenever a girl marries, it is expected that her husband will present her parents with as much